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EAST FRENCH DIALECTS.

Die Ostfranzösischen Grenzdialekte Zwischen Metz und Belfort von Dr. ADOLF HORNING, mit einer Karte. Heilbronn, Gebr. Henninger, 1887. pp. 122, or 429-550 of *Französ. Studien*, V. Band. M. 4. 40 Pf.

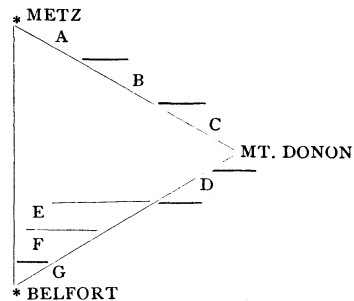
To the excellent collection of monographs edited by Professors G. Körting and Koschwitz under the general title *Französische Studien*, has recently been added this important work by Dr. Horning, Oberlehrer am Lyceum in Strassburg, well known for his phonetic studies in various branches of the Romance languages. It constitutes Heft 4 (Schluss) of the fifth volume of the series and is another one of those critical contributions on dialectology that have made these *Studien* of peculiar interest to the investigator in this special province of Romance speech. Vol. III., Heft 2, brought us a suggestive study of 'Die südwestlichen Dialekte der Langue d'Oïl (Poitou, Aunis, Saintonge and Angoumois)' by Ewald Görlich; the closing number of vol. IV. was devoted to an interesting and elaborate treatise: 'Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Mundart von Montpellier (Languedoc)' by Wilhelm Mushacke; vol. V., Heft 3, published in 1886, is a continuation by Dr. Görlich of his dialect researches in the North-west French [as a supplement to those in the South-west French, published in 1882] under the title: 'Die nordwestlichen Dialekte der Langue d'Oïl (Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, Touraine);' and finally, as the last number of the suite, comes the study, as noted above, contributed to the series by Dr. Horning.

This is not the first appearance of the writer in this particular dialect field; a part of the material incorporated in his 'Grenzdialekte' was published in 1885 under the title: 'Zur Kunde der romanischen Dialekte der Vogesen und Lothringens,'¹ where he selected for treatment a number of examples from a word-supply collected in about fifty villages of the Vosges and Lorraine territory. Most of the explanations given and opinions expressed here with reference to the phonetic character of the vocables examined, are still held in the more recent paper before us. For this, the

¹ Cf. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. IX, pp. 497-512.

author makes use of material gathered, between the years 1883-1886, from seventy-six points situated along the border district of speech extending from Metz to Belfort. No attempt is made to establish a line of demarcation between the French and German, though in certain cases where the writer is working on the extreme limits of Gallic speech (on the line, so to speak, if there be one), it would have been desirable to note the mixing process from this point of view. It is possible that no clear separation of the speech varieties exists here such as was sometimes found by Messrs. Tourtoulon and Bringuier,² and especially striking is the fact noted on page five that the Vosges mountains do not form a separating barrier between the dialects of the east and those of the west,—that the dialect varieties of Alsace-Lorraine are but the continuation in an easterly direction of the characteristics of groups A, B, C, D, etc., that exist on French soil.

As to the territory covered by Dr. H.'s study, it may be represented by a triangle of which a straight line drawn from Metz to Belfort would be the hypotenuse, while lines from Belfort to Mt. Donon and from Mt. Donon to Metz would represent the respective sides of the triangle, thus:



The investigation, now, lies on these two sides of the triangle: from Belfort to Mt. Donon, directly along the principal mass of the Vosges mountains, covering a distance, roughly estimated, say of about sixty English miles; and from Mt. Donon to Metz, about fifty miles, or perhaps even a little more, on account of the zigzag course followed.

² Cf. 'Étude sur la limite géographique de la langue d'oc et de la langue d'oïl,' p. 6. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1876.

The chief political divisions of France, as formerly contained in this linguistic region, would be, beginning on the north and going south: the Département de la Meurthe, Dépt. des Vosges, and a strip along the west side of the Dépts. du Haut- and Bas-Rhin. Considering the geographical extent of this region, the first thing perhaps that strikes one with reference to a dialect study such as the author has undertaken, is the size of the territory covered by it. For the most part the country is mountainous, and hence the speech variations between any two given sections, or even between any two villages, are likely to be more marked than those differentiating the hamlets which are situated in the plain. A difficulty thus arises at the very threshold of the investigation which it is impossible to set aside and which is greatly increased in proportion as the circle is widened about any given centre. There is constant chance of jumping certain connecting phenomena which overlap one another, in the process of moving through the successively enlarging peripheries of phonetic development or of morphological growth. This lack of gradual, progressive melting of one set of dialect characteristics into another is naturally felt in the treatise before us, though the author has done his best to reduce it to a minimum by giving us only the result of his own personal observation, or, when this was not possible, that of persons for whose linguistic consciousness as to any special phenomenon he can vouch: "meine Nachrichten verdanke ich immer Personen, die aus den betreffenden Ortschaften gebürtig sind."

The special territory bordering on these two lines is divided into seven groups (A, B, C, D, E, F, G), according to the principle of diphthongisation or non-diphthongisation of tonic *e*, *ē* and *q* libres, after labial; the individual points in each group are noted by *a*¹ *a*², *b*¹ *b*², etc. In the recognition of this dominant principle, and the classification of these dialects according to it, does one of the chief merits of the work consist; it was not recognised by other workers on the same ground such as Oberlin,³ Lahm,⁴ and Adam.⁵

³Essai sur le patois lorrain des environs du comté du Ban de la Roche. Strasbourg, 1775.

⁴Le Patois de la Baroque (Val. d'Orbey) in *Romanische Studien*, Vol. II, pp. 61-98.

⁵Les Patois lorrains, Paris, 1887.

If we classify the dialect groups according to this newly-discovered principle, we have the following results:

Diphthongisation throughout A, C, F

Monophthongisation throughout E

Monophthongisation predominant $\begin{cases} B (ē, q); ē \text{ diphthongised.} \\ G (ē, q); ē = wa. \end{cases}$

Diphthongisation + Monophthongisation for whole groups of vowels D

Taking up the work in detail, the following points may be noted:—§14. What objection could there be here to supposing a mutation of suffix to explain the monosyllabism of masculine forms in *-i*? The Metz characteristic *-i*-forms for Latin tonic *ē*+*y* (cf. §35) might have been extended so as to cover the *-ērium* termination and give us *premi* alongside of *pri* (PRĒTIUM). Compare §53, where the form *s'le* is admitted as possibly coming from *sol-ūculus*.

Whatever opinion may be held with reference to the origin and relative age of this suffix *-erius*,⁶ the fact always remains that its existence is necessary to account for many Romance (French) forms, and nowhere is this necessity more evident than in the dialects. Whether, furthermore, the products mentioned above belong to the original Metz dialect or whether they have come in through French influence affects the question only indirectly. It seems to me that we have so much the more reason for adopting this explanation, in that, for other parts of this dialect territory, there has evidently been a struggle toward uniformity in the resultant development of *q*+*y* and tonic *a*+*y* for the masculine: *premoē* *b*⁴-*b*⁷, etc. (cf. Anhang I, §127,2) alongside of the A-form just noted, *premi*.7—§23. The writer here extends the important East French law that a tonic *a* in hiatus does not fall, to the north Jura district: *regi* (RADICEM), *tag* (*TABONEM), and cites in the following section the variation from French rule, that *a* after initial *c* does not give *ē*: *čavū* (CAPILLUM), *ševa* and *čeva* (Fr. chevet). As the present-

⁶GRÜBER, in WÖLFFLIN'S *Archiv f. r. latein. Lexicographie* I, 226, maintains that stems in *-er* (minister) gave this product just as *-ar* gives *-arius*; THURNEISEN, on the other hand, ibidem IV, 155 suggests that *-(i)arius* > *-erius*; MUSHACKE, op. cit., p. 28, also maintains a similar umlaut procedure with ref. to *a* while, in opposition to this view, WALDNER, 'Die Quellen des parasitischen *i* im Altfranzösischen,' p. 28 shows that *-ir* is the natural development of *ērium*, regarded as an original suffix.

⁷C+*e* following French rule > *i*, through *iei* > *ii*. cf. §54.

tation of a fact, these examples are interesting, but of course it was not intended to imply that this phonetic trait is especially characteristic of the set of dialects here examined. The phenomenon exists throughout north and east France, though more common, naturally, in certain districts than in others: cf. Wallonian (Montois) *kemin*, *kevan* in certain euphonic conditions, (Liégeois) *chevlou*; Picard *cavieu*, *caveron*; Norman *quenet* (Guernsey) *canivet*.—§31. It is natural that we should have a mixing of monophthongisation and diphthongisation in D as it is wedged in between the diphthong territory, C, on the north, and the monophthong territory, E, on the south. Since the open and close vowels stand in the proportion of two to one in this vowel scheme, a careful statistical count of the leading results of the two sets would have to be made before we could predicate anything definite as to the influence of the closed syllable on diphthongisation. For *ɛ*, *ɔ*, such influence would seem probable, in accordance with the author's statement; but for *e*, *ɛ*, the relation is much more difficult to establish (cf. §§47 and 78). The coloring of the diphthong would, of course, hold as to C, as noted in §47.—§66. It is of interest to note: after finding that tonic *e* entravé (§58) has given us the same products *a*, *ɔ*, pretonic *e*, on the contrary, does not yield these results, but *ɛ̃* for the most part.—§90. In the development of *a*, *o* out of *e* entravé, the evidence drawn from the Lorraine dialect reverses the generally accepted view that *a* is the original and *o* the secondary sound. TECTUM > *ei* > *oi* and, by reduction of this *oi*, > *ɔ* > *a*, so that the final results are *tɔ*, *ta*. Now, WENDELIN FÖRSTER, 'Lyoner Yzopet,' p. xxxii, maintains the old theory, and HORNING, backed by these newly studied phenomena, appropriately asks in opposition to it: is it, if this hypothesis be true, that *e* entravé does not regularly become *a*, since in the scale of sounds (*i*, *e*, *ɛ*, *a*) the *e* stands closer to the *a* than the *e* does? NEGARE gives us to-day *ngvi* where protected *e* > *o*, but it gives us *nayi* where *e* passes to *a*; of these two forms, the writer has no hesitation in pronouncing the first (*o*) to be the older. And with reference to the *ei* > *oi*, the labial is shown to be here the prime potential element: lab. + *e* + voc. gives a

result (*poine*) quite different from that coming from non-lab. + *e* + voc. (*pleine*). This difference finds a striking illustration in the French forms *foin*, *moins*, *avoine* as contrasted with *reine*, *haleine*, *pleine*. But what is to be said about *roine*, *ployer* and *penser*?—§98. It is worth while to note here, with reference to the development of tonic *ɔ* libre, the same intimate relation to *u* which is found in the Norman dialect: CALOREM > *šálu*. Cf. Norman *dolur*.—§104. A comparison of tonic *ɔ* entravé with tonic *ɔ* entravé gives as result, respectively: *o* (exceptionally *ɔ*), *ɔ* (*cot* COSTAM, *jɔ* DIURNUM); to these the parallel French products mark a striking contrast: *mordre*, *jor* (*jour*). The development of tonic Latin *au* (§124), gives too, the same result as this tonic *ɔ* entravé: *cyor* CLAUDERE, which again may be contrasted with the French *chaise*, (CAUSAM), *rose* (*RAUSAM).⁸—§118. An important law of phonetics for the Wallonian and Lorraine dialects is here exemplified in the development of Latin atonic *ū* in hiatus-position; namely, the preservation of the original consonantal *u*-sound: *swɛ* SUDARE. While in French proper both tonic and atonic Latin *u* have become a front (*ü*) vowel, the dialect makes a clear distinction between them in holding the tonic *ū* to front position (*ü*), while the atonic still sticks to the back position (*u*).—§127. It is to be regretted, I think, that some definite sign should not have been used for the intermediate sound between *e* and *ɛ*, which the writer here gives "bald mit *e*, bald mit *ɛ*." The same remark applies to similar examples cited in *Zeitschrift f. r. Phil.* IX, 480. In the mixing of forms, too, such as in §49, where examples are presented in which tonic *e* after non-labial "wird von B-F bald zu *a* bald zu *ɔ*," it would be desirable to have not only the prevailing type carefully noted for each given domain, but also the rarer element presented in as numerous cases as possible, so as to enable us to judge of the probable cause of such vacillation.—§130. It is only in F, G, that the writer finds *c* + *a* (*o*, *u*) > original *ts*, and where this older form is kept the voiced velar (*g*) gives the corresponding sonant equivalent *dž* (*džo* GALLUS); parts of D, E also have it. On-

⁸ NEUHAUS (CARL) 'Adgars Marienlegenden.' Anmerkungen von W. FÖRSTER, p. 243.

ly on the north end of the line (A-C) is the voiceless dental fricative ʃ found.—§139. In the combination $\text{voc.}+c+e$ (i), the palatal c passes to $'h$ (voiced form corresponding to χ) or j throughout the whole territory: $\text{PLACERE} > \text{pye}'hi$.—§166, II. It might have been appropriately added here, that this metathesis tgr-tg (O. Fr. *trestuit*) takes place also throughout the north French dialects (Wallonian, Picard, Norman).

Perhaps the most important part of this monograph is that marked Anhang III (pp. 81-84) and entitled "Ueber das Verhältniss der Laute χ ($'h$) zu ʃ (j)". Here the author attempts to overthrow the old doctrine with reference to the relative ages of ʃ and χ . The establishment of the historic relation of these two sounds has frequently claimed the attention of scholars, among whom may be mentioned GASTON PARIS (*Romania* X, 607), APFELSTEDT ('Lothr. Psalter,' XLIII) and HORNING himself ('Zur Geschichte des lat. C' p. 49) and they have all held that ʃ is the older of the two products. As result of the present investigation, however, DR. HORNING abandons his old position and brings pretty conclusive evidence to show that the prevalent view on this point of phonetics is erroneous: The sources of χ ($'h$) are 1. $s+y$, $ss+y$, sc (χ)+ a (e , i); 2. $s+t$ (p , c) before o , u ; 3. medial rs , final r ; 4. j +cons.; 5. sporadic cases. The Wallonian is called in to help simplify the problem; here the χ -domain corresponds to the χ -domain of the Lorraine; to the former dialect, sources 2, 3 are unknown while 4 and 5 occur only in sporadic cases, therefore the χ (ʃ) here must have developed out of $s+y$, $ss+y$, sc , χ . For the relative ages of the two products the following phenomena must be noted: In a^1 every time ʃ (j) corresponds to χ ($'h$) we have such forms as $m\text{ʃe}$ (MANGER), ʃarʃe (CHARACTER); outside of this condition, paʃye (pêcher), repajye , where there can be no doubt that the y has been preserved after ʃ ($=\chi$) and j ($=h$), whereas it has disappeared after the common French palatal ʃ and j . This difference of treatment of the y cannot be explained if we accept ʃ (j)= χ ($'h$) as the original product; but taking χ ($'h$) as the primitive sound, it follows clearly that y was lost only after palatals, and this, too, at a time

when χ had not yet become ʃ . We are thus able to establish more definitely the relative chronological bearings of the two phonetic elements: χ could pass to ʃ only after the y , following the palatal guttural, had fallen. Additional proof that ʃ was not the original product is to be found in the development of the Latin word *SCALA* which gives us, except in territory a^1 , $\chi o l$ instead of $\text{ʃy} \text{ä} l$, the regular result from an original ʃ . This χ -sound, our author thinks, dates back at least to the twelfth century.

From what has been said, something of the importance of this dialect-study will be recognised: in the treatment of the phonetic part, it is a model; for the morphology and syntax, "nur lückenhafte materialien" are presented, but these are well arranged and the most is made of them. A glossary of twenty pages, giving the more striking dialect forms, closes the interesting monograph.

A. M. E.

SAWYER'S 'COMPLETE GERMAN MANUAL' AGAIN.

A text-book review, even if it be the fruit of faithful labor, is almost sure to leave something for the author to say, in order that his theories, or the considerations supporting them, may not be misrepresented. A work of any originality would naturally involve many points to which the author had given far more thought than any one else. His conclusions may be erroneous, but, if his work is found worthy of notice, his premises deserve consideration.

Stoutly as I must protest against some of my reviewer's statements (cf. MODERN LANG. NOTES for June), I wish to say at the outset that I lay no carping to his charge, but regard the spirit of his review as fair and judicial. Two principles would probably account for all the points at issue between us:

1. The undisputed maxims of pedagogy should be rigidly applied in all language textbooks.

2. The usual aims of students of German in this country, and the average qualifications of our teachers of this language, are considerations which are entitled to modify what would